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THE PILGRIM AND THE MELTING POT¹

Who going forth seeking adventure have found more than that little group of simple, perhaps stoggy, peasants living in 1600 around the tiny villages of Scrooby and Auserfeld, who, so far from seeking it, yearned only for quiet and noninterference? To be sure, the world went by on the great North road, but who is farther removed from the spirit of movement than the crowds one sees gathered about the railroad station to watch the express go by, and what surprise it would give to both audience and tourist to be told that nearly the whole of some such village crowd would be snatched up and would travel together farther than any of those upon whom they wonderingly and, for the most part, unenviously gazed. Nor was it adventure of the body alone to which circumstance and pious obstinacy committed them. Simple peasants though they were, the common desire for salvation brought them for a time into daily contact with the learning of Cambridge in the person of John Robinson, till something of the elements of ordered thought began to steady their minds, while the same common desire developed a neighborliness between them and William Brewster, who had experienced the refinements of court life.

Steadied and united by such influences, they fearsomely confronted exile and undesired change of all their physical habits, rather than change their spiritual practices. "Being now come into the Low Countries, they saw many goodly and fortified cities, strongly walled and garded with troopes of armed men. Also they heard a strange and uncouth language, and beheld the

¹ This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association at Greencastle, Indiana, April 29, 1920.

different manners and customes of the people, with their strange fashions and attires; all so farre differing from that of their plaine countrie villages (wherin they were bred, and had so longe lived) as it seemed they were come into a new world." They changed not only from one country to another, but from country to city life; but "they fell to such trades and employments as they best could. . . . And at length they came to raise a competente and comfortable living, but with hard and continuall labor."

This new life could not but affect them all. To some it was an attraction. An earlier, similar church "falling into some errours in the Low Countries, ther (for the most part) buried them selves, and their names." Some even of this group "became souldiers, others tooke upon them farr viages by sea, and others some worse courses." The majority, however, were repelled rather than attracted. The labors in which they were employed "hastened" old age "before the time," and "consumed" "the vigor of nature" "in the very budd as it were." For the most part, they lived together "injoying much sweete and delightfull societie and spirituall comforte togeather in the wayes of God." Seasoned by self-conscious effort and by experience, they began to possess an attraction. "Many came unto them from diverse parts of England," among them Mr. Edward Winslow, a gentleman. Miles Standish, a sturdy professional soldier, joined himself to them.

Thus developed, they resolved upon the great adventure to America. Immediately they were plunged into the intricacies of business. The total cost of establishing them in America was about £7,000; not a large sum, even when we consider the greater value of money at the time. Yet it is not surprising that they did not have it all. It is more surprising that they succeeded in borrowing such as they did not have. It is still more remarkable that they paid what they borrowed; for not honesty alone, nor with industry added, could have served, but real success was needed. Except Massachusetts, which paid its own way, all the early colonies were financed by speculators who lost their money, or by great financial magnates, like the Calverts and William Penn, whose returns came in only to their descendants. No enterprise involved so little waste and was

so quickly remunerative as that of the pilgrim fathers. In ten years they had paid off their just joint debts.

In thirty years from their arrival in America, births had made good the losses of the adventure itself and of time, and had increased the population by over fifty per cent. Near thirty of the original stock were still living exponents of the course that had held them together. Their mode of life was different from that of their youth, but they were financially much better off, and they were not working so hard as they had worked in Holland. They had successfully planted a real social seed in America, it was flourishing and bearing fruit.

The courage, the poise, and the adaptability of this little group of English peasants are a splendid tribute to the possibilities of the English rural population of the seventeenth century. The fact that the adventure was not sought but thrust upon them ranks them as typical of that element, as were the sea rovers of Elizabeth's day of the less numerous population of the coast towns. It is interesting to note that the rural population outran the fisher folk and made their New England settlement four years before Roger Conant of Dorchester settled at Cape Ann. It is obvious, however, that when they settled Plymouth the pilgrims were no longer English peasants. Life in a foreign country had broadened their experience; city life had forced them to add trades to their agricultural equipment; twelve long years of daily intimacy with Brewster and Robinson had modified their manners; the necessity of business and self-government had still further stretched their minds. They had taken long steps toward becoming a new people; they may justly be called Americans.

The pilgrims planted a real seed of culture on the American continent. They brought over with them in sympathetic combination traditions of sturdy English country life, of learning, and of gentle living. This germ they had impregnated with varied experiences and had differentiated from anything growing on the soil from which they sprang. Planted in new and different soil, it flourished like a mustard seed, and became a tree in which the birds of the air came and lodged in their multitudes.

Tiny on the ocean was the *Mayflower*, mighty is the *Leviathan*

which transports men by the ten thousand, and the companions of the *Leviathan* are a mighty company compared with the sisters of the *Mayflower*. Constantly increasing has been the flow of immigration, and constantly widening has been the field from which it has been drawn. Not all have been seasoned for the transition as were the farmers of Scrooby, and one changes naturally from fruitful agricultural similies to that of the devouring melting pot. In this rush life and babel of races has the pilgrim been lost, except to memory, or has he served as a salt to savor the broth? While celebrating the tercentenary of the pilgrim voyage, it is worth while to estimate the weight of their contribution to the American people of to-day. Many methods may be used, each throwing some light on the subject. The particular one which will be presented here is that of considering what counts in determining the relative significance of immigrants to a new country.

In the beginning we must remember that the very act of emigration severs countless ties with the past, as marriage does with the old home. But the division between the members of a race who migrate and those who stay at home is not merely a severance but somewhat also a separation of kinds. Although we may not take the words of the New England divine, Mr. Shephard, that God had "sifted a whole nation that he might send the choice wheat to New England," in the sense in which he meant them, they nevertheless represent a fact. Emigration does sift. As to the character of sifting we get a war of adjectives; one says that it is the adventurous who go, another that it is the restless; one, that it is the unsuccessful, another that it is the optimistic. While these adjectives are hurled with intent to disparage or to praise, they do not quite create a division into good and bad, and they have their value if they are carefully used. When migration is difficult, few but the adventurous come, ancestors of initiative and daring; when it is easy, not only the adventurous, but also the merely restless, ancestors of thriftlessness and instability. It is true that the successful are not apt to leave; but success is relative, and many migrate because of the greatness of their vision of real success. All these adjectives, moreover, describe different aspects of a certain temperament, and emigrants sifted out of the home populations

for such causes possess to begin with certain elements of division from the home community and certain elements of understanding among themselves.

Many have piled up long lists of such adjectives to differentiate the migrating from the stay-at-homes, but it is doubtful whether we can really go much further than we have gone. The rich seldom migrate, and transportation has not yet become so easy that the poorest can migrate; and here we get a real difference in that a new country seldom reproduces the extremes of the old. The conservative temperament is opposed to change of place as of condition, and a new country tends to be more radical than the old ones; but we must not forget that many so-called conservatives are merely ardent lovers of certain conditions and sometimes become colonists to preserve a state of things that is passing away, while many radicals love the contest more than either victory or escape, and stay to fight. In general, those whose sensibilities are most tender cannot bear transplantation, and hence poetry seldom flourishes in colonies as in the motherland; but those whose vision is fixed upon the possibility of attaining an actual poetry of life, a utopia, are first to seek virgin fields in which to build it, and hence social reformers flourish most abundantly in such lands. Finally, those who best fit in at home stay there, and the misfits leave, which brings us back to the point that a population created by immigration begins its existence differentiated from the population from which it is drawn.

These are but deductions that anyone acquainted with human phenomena might make in his study, but they would not have been stated here had they not checked up with the observed facts of American history. Obviously there are some exceptions. The enforced migration of the negroes excluded the play of natural forces, and some of those who fled from fire and sword, like a portion of the Palatine Germans, had little room for choice. The case of the later Germans, however, is one to which the principles soundly apply. The Scotch-Irish, the Irish, and the Welsh again divided by natural selection; and while the Huguenots were harried from their homes, everyone knows that they were an element that had long been different from their victorious brothers of the blood. Every migrating group has its his-

tory, and this history nearly always tells of some cleavage of interest, or opinion, or circumstance that had begun its work before the physical separation took place.

Most interesting is the case of the English, for here not only was the cleavage marked, but there was from the beginning a set purpose to create in America a community different from that left behind. It was, in fact, this fixed collective purpose that from the first gave a sense of direction to American life, and created a national rather than a colonial community. The amount of dissatisfaction was much less than in many other cases, and their desire was not to revolutionize the structure of society, but, to use their own term, to "purify" it. Nor was there any desire at the beginning to separate; rather it was believed that from their new vantage ground their influence would react to "purify" England. For a time it seemed, indeed, that this hope would be realized. When, however, in 1660, the English commonwealth fell before the restoration, the permanence of the cleavage was established, and, while both branches of the race developed alike toward that general goal we call democracy, their methods continued from that date to differ.

The nature of their differences can perhaps most simply be expressed if we substitute for the seventeenth-century term "puritan" the current English term "nonconformist." Englishmen who see the United States neatly divided into dioceses, and meet their affable and learned bishops, are apt to overlook the significance of this difference. Yet the Protestant Episcopal church, the daughter of the church of England, to which these bishops belong, numbers only two and a half million adherents, while, not to mention the countless sects that would be nonconforming did they exist in England, the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists alone number forty-two million and a half. Nor is it forgotten that Virginia was given much of its character by a cavalier element moved to exodus by the rule of Cromwell, for this strain, though its influence was subtle and pervasive, was infinitesimal in numbers, and a very great portion of the slaveholding oligarchy consisted of Scotch-Irish, who, like Calhoun their leader, descended from the mountains into the plain, and, adopting the habits and social philosophy of the Virginian, retained the conscience of noncon-

formity. When one realizes all the social and political connotations that are associated with religious nonconformity or kirk, one wonders that three centuries of separation have left Americans and English as alike as they are, especially as one must remember that English nonconformists themselves cannot be expected too closely to resemble their brethren across the ocean, for a perpetual minority acquires quite different characteristics from a majority, even though it holds the same fundamental principles.

This differentiation between the emigrant and his home people makes possible the unification of the immigrants of differing races. In fact, it helps create it, for in so far as migration is a natural sifting process it sifts individuals of like quality from different countries, and sometimes the similarity goes beyond temperament and extends to ideas and purposes. The protestant majority in America is not made up of English nonconformists alone, but of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, Dutch and Germans of kindred creeds, and it was by the dream of a Quaker utopia that William Penn induced so many of his Rhenish coreligionists to cross the ocean. Under such circumstances the representatives of various races, finding themselves on a foreign shore, have some initial disposition toward coöperation. How far the spiritual separation between the several parts of each race will go, and how complete will be the blending of the fragments of the several races cast together in the new land, will depend upon the conditions of the migration and the conditions that they find. One racial element may dominate, they may segregate and divide power, or they may mingle. That is, these are the extreme possibilities; actually one is almost certain to find tendencies in all these directions. Certainly in the United States blending has been the most conspicuous, but brief notice must be taken of the cross currents.

The negro was brought over for a separate occupational purpose, semitropical agriculture; similarly were German glass-makers, Swiss dairymen, Chinese coolies for railroad building, Italian wine growers, and many others. In later days, when economic conditions had become somewhat fixed, many races were forced to edge their way in by adopting some particular occupation. The first Italians were fruit-venders and organ

men. The Greeks to-day almost monopolize the palatial shoe-shining parlors that grace our cities, which led a friend of the writer's to remark that the ancestors of the Greeks gave polish to our minds, while the Greeks of to-day give polish to our soles. No race, however, has remained fixed in any special pursuit. Even the negroes are only predominantly, not entirely, agricultural; and the only other occupational class, to turn for a moment from race, that seemed likely to remain fixed, that of the plantation slaveholders, was swept from its fastnesses by the cataclysm of civil war and reconstruction.

There has been also a certain tendency for races to seek in America the climate and the natural surroundings most suggestive of their old homes. The Swiss farmers of Wisconsin are perched on the hilltops, overlooking the Germans in the valley bottoms. If one deals with massed figures, the races tend to spread over the country somewhat horizontally, preserving the European geographical relationships; Danes are few in Texas, Italians engage in agriculture chiefly in California. The inter-lapping and overlapping and the diffusion of exceptional individuals, however, are so great that this is but the most generalized of generalizations. The attempt of the Germans to collect to dominate one state, Wisconsin, failed, although they have the numbers to dominate several. Only one race is tending toward, instead of away from, geographical segregation—the negro, who, since the civil war, has been drawing more closely together in certain sections, and in certain quarters of cities.

There is, indeed, probably a natural tendency for those who have once torn themselves from the roots which previous generations have put down so deep in one particular spot and industry, to continue to shift and move. Given freedom and wide opportunity, such as America has afforded, a people formed of immigrants will be a people given to change, and actually in the lives and family histories of most Americans there is not one great exodus, but many. Comparatively few fathers pass on their trades to their sons, and the social order and the address book fluctuate with an intensity that has increased rather than steadied down.

The varying races, therefore, have not found separate habitats and have not ranged themselves according to separate economic

strata, but have mingled geographically and industrially. Nevertheless there are many elements of difference, which have given them very unequal influence in the shaping of the nation.

It is one of the most fascinating tasks of American history to trace out the contributing ingredients of each community in the United States. The work of thousands of historians and of more generations than one, it can never in fact be complete, for elements are constantly changing. Yet the results already attained have a remarkable definiteness and exactness. One can predicate the dominant religious tone, the social code, and the politics of a town of which one knows only the population elements. In fact, of late years the campaign committees of some of the great parties have systematically employed historians who can tell them as accurately where to concentrate effort, where it is unnecessary, where useless, and what type of argument to present from varying platforms, as a geologist can tell where to sink shafts for coal or bore for oil.

Not only do the native characteristics of the race count—such as the political genius of the English, the philosophical flare of the Scotch, the finish of the French, the social charm of the Irish, the diligence of the Germans, the dreaminess of the Scandinavians, and so on—but also the relative quality of those who are drawn from each race.

Where emigration is too hard only speculative adventurers make the crossing, who leave few descendants and little influence; if it is too easy, as it has been of late from the Mediterranean countries, many of the inefficient come, who act as a drag upon their abler kinsmen. Circumstances vary infinitely the character of the flow. There are within the United States communities from which year after year the ablest boys are lured away forever by the great cities, but in which the ablest girls remain, and, marrying their inferiors, pass on a mingled stock of good and bad. In some more primitive communities, with earlier marriage and more sense of partnership of the sexes, the ambitious have all been drained away, leaving the unenterprising and backward. Such quality counts profoundly, and those races have counted most whose division has been the result of an ennobling conflict—not of fiery persecution on the one hand, which tests courage only, nor of the whiffs of sensational allure-

ment, nor of advertising, moving what otherwise would have been a dead calm. In addition to racial characteristics and moral quality, intellectual fiber also has been a factor in determining the relationship of the races. It is not, however, true that they have been influential according to the proportion of immigrants of high intellectual attainment that they have contributed; for the combination of ingredients has been more important than the quantity.

Men of cultivation and highly trained powers bring to the land both more and less of the old than do the ignorant. They bring knowledge of history and the toilsomly acquired acquisitions of many generations, but they have already shaken off more of social prejudice and impregnated tradition. Such men as Alexander Hamilton, Albert Gallatin, and Carl Schurz quickly affiliated with and became a part of the governing class. They rose at once and precociously to influence, and as teachers and experts have all left their mark upon the United States for all time. All, however, were disappointed in their careers. When they attempted to be leaders, they all failed to attain to a confidence truly national, for they were none of them quite American; while they equally failed to lead their own transplanted races, for they anticipated them in their adjustment to American habits and ideals.

The ignorant, on the other hand, tend at first to flock together by the impulse of a common life in a strange land. Withdrawn, however, from the warmth of their national culture which at home subtly pervades those most remote from its high altars, their common life tends to deteriorate. Even in the first generation their language grows apart, not from separate development, but from degeneration. The cultural atmosphere becomes dead, and the abler seek their self-realization not in this culture, which is dying or coarsening by transplantation, but by transferring themselves to the surrounding atmosphere, to which they come as eager disciples instead of apostles of their own inheritance, which they have never seen in its full glory. The United States and all countries peopled by immigrants of different lands are filled with such atrophied groups giving blood, but not racial quality, to the nation, and themselves withering or evaporating under the hot sun of a different social order.

Whether a people can be created by individuals, either learned or ignorant, or both together, is a question, because it has never been done. Certainly, however, a racial culture cannot be so transplanted. Rather it must grow like yeast by the generation of new, complete organisms; although such organisms are more subject to variation than those of the vegetable world. It is the transplanted community, with its whole life—its rich and poor, its good and bad, its minister or priest, its physician, its school-teacher, its cobbler, its shopkeeper, its books, and its furniture—that carries to the new world not the mold but the model which, with many changes, with losses of accumulated wisdom, with gains of improvements long resisted, becomes the basis of a new and somewhat differing, but kindred, civilization.

It is with such communities, and their interrelations and their dealings with newcomers, that one is chiefly concerned when probing the relative influence of different races in America, beyond what is explained by the blood and the quality of the immigrants. The United States might well be called the United Communities, for it is the product not of the union of forty-eight states, but of that of thousands of communities founded by groups each having at the beginning a large measure of social completeness. Such communities must be divided into those which are natural and those which are artificial; that is, those which are composed of people from differing places who flock together because of similarity of ideas. The mortality of the latter by sudden and angry dispersal has been very great, but some have attained great prosperity, like that of the Mormons. In general, however, they have seldom shown vitality, and are dying yearly of anemia.

So many of the strictly offshoot variety exist, or have vanished by the very success of their assimilating influence and have become, like Boston, a "state of mind," that only classes of them can be mentioned. The oldest was the English parish, transplanted to New England, without its squire, without primogeniture, with a minister in place of a rector; a parish fallen into the hands of the chapel. Then there was the English country estate, transplanted to Virginia and the Carolinas, with slaves substituted for tenantry; in Maryland was the transplanted estate with a Catholic gentry; in Pennsylvania, the parish inhab-

ited by Quakers. In New York were Dutch towns and feudal estates with Dutch lords; in Pennsylvania, Rhine villages without princes; in Louisiana was a little Paris; all along the Alleghenies, a Scotch highlands inhabited largely by Scotch lowlanders. Along the border from Texas to California were transplanted Spanish ranches and monastic communities, but so little blood came with them that not much remains except a degenerate language and picturesque manners and costumes. Themselves dividing, these communities spread westward, the fragments cast off becoming smaller and less complete until, a national community having been created, it was possible for individuals to wander, safe in finding a soil fertile for the propagation of culture as well as life.

On the whole, those races have counted most whose first comers enjoyed sovereignty in America, as the Spanish, the English, the French, and the Dutch, or put down their roots in the colonial period, as the Pennsylvania Germans and the Scotch. To the races that came later the foundation of such communities was more difficult. It is true that in every large American city one finds a "Little Italy," a "Chinatown," a "Ghetto," a "Bohemia" which is not the artists' quarter, and other sections where the faces in the windows proclaim a common racial origin. In large measure, however, these are aggregations, not communities. The intellectual and the cultivated of these nations are welcomed into the life about them and are gradually weaned away from their cruder compatriots, leaving them to the process of absorption and decay that we have noticed.

It is true that after a generation or two, when prosperity has brought leisure and wealth to the descendants of the first immigrants, there comes a period of sentimental reaction toward their old home. Innumerable societies perpetuate racial distinctions. The English are so many that few attempt to recall simply English origin, but we have American descendants of the *Mayflower* immigrants, of royalty, and of Anglo-Saxon royalty, and innumerable family associations. Many societies recall long residence in America, as the Colonial dames, the Society of the colonial wars, the Sons and Daughters of the American revolution. There are Scotch societies and Hebrew societies, and German and Welsh societies; there will be Russian, Turkish, and

Czech-Slovak societies. Each tries to recall the habits of the old home, celebrates old holidays, builds a clubhouse in the old architecture, plays old plays, and systematically exaggerates the rôle of its race in the making of America. Some have been propagandist. Undoubtedly such movements might become in time disruptive, would become so if the aggregated population units from which their blood flows had not in most instances broken up by the time the societies came into existence; it is in fact only when they are scattered that the call for artificial organization becomes really strong. One fears such influences the less, moreover, when one finds that the habitual "joiner" usually is a member of several societies, and that the children of members generally balk at learning the ancestral language. Such organizations, however, do much to preserve and diffuse some tradition of the racial culture and to promote the influence of the best of their inheritance on American life.

It is nevertheless true that in spite of difficulties some of the later races have planted cultural seeds in America. Preëminent have been those established by the Germans, which dot the country from the Alleghenies to the Rockies, from the lakes to the Ohio, and which divide most of the large cities into social groups. Over a smaller area in the midst of this region are distinct, but much less complete, Scandinavian communities. In the large cities of the east the Jews are able to lead a self-centered life, and the French Canadians of New England supply themselves with churches, partly with the lower schools, and to some extent with physicians and politicians; but they generally have to go to an unlabeled American to get their teeth pulled. Such communities undoubtedly not only prolong the persistence of race characteristics, but will increase their racial contribution to the final amalgam of American character; all are subject, however, to the disintegrating influence of a surrounding social order, the main features of which are the result of an amalgam of the earlier communities. Great personal success means almost inevitable absorption, and thus they lose their leaders and their future.

We have now observed how these different races coming to America have reacted on each other; it remains for us to consider some of the reasons why their reactions have been as they have. Already we have gathered some of the most important as

we have gone along. We have noticed how the immigrant dropped something of his race on leaving home, how the selective process of emigration sent to the new world people somewhat alike in temperament and ideals, how the grouping of certain immigrants in communities tended to bend the twig so that to some extent a pattern was shaped for the later sap which simplified the process of fusion into a single growing organism.

There are in addition certain other reasons which are obvious and need only statement. First has been the wonderful unifying effect of a common effort for a common end. Work in America has not been the simple monotonous round of so many hours of motions more or less active, rewarded according to a long-fixed community judgment, and with the gaining of a livelihood as the only tangible end. Very visible even to the less imaginative has been the necessity to each and all of the conquest of continent, the slow advance of civilization into the wilderness. Very plain to all has been the partnership of all. Not only have individuals been forced to coöperate for the same end, but the thousand and one communities also have been forced to lay aside their aloofness and join forces in the great advance. Even where distance has rendered the partnership less apparent the similarity of the tasks has created a common understanding based on like problems and like dangers. The conquest of the frontier crushed and ground the races that took part in it into a real soil out of which Americanism has grown. Undoubtedly the great physical and spiritual tests of war have, from time to time, rapidly fused the whole, but these sudden heatings have but acted on metal ready for the process; not war, but work, has been the great reagent.

This unity of the task before different races and individuals has been the result of a geographical unity which is the material basis of nationality in the United States. As Lincoln said, "The area now possessed by the United States is fitted to be the home of one nation, and it is not fitted to be the home of two or more." As the frontier has vanished, and with it the similarity of tasks, the temptation has been ever stronger to do business on a national scale. The profits and the excitements of catering to the tastes of buyers from Maine to California have constantly educated business men to the ideas of wider and wider circles.

The *Saturday evening post*, to sell its millions of copies, has to know the psychology of all races and all communities; and in turn the universal caterer helps unify the population which he serves, and women cut their children's clothes to Butterick patterns from ocean to ocean, from Canada to Mexico, so that little Americans, looking at the pictures in the Sunday school magazines, can readily pick out other little Americans from among the children of all lands there depicted. To turn to the most important manifestation of this unity, what chance has a language which has lost its graces and which opens up only rather poor and widely separated communities, in competition with one which opens up both the highest social fastnesses and a continental market? Unless artificial barriers had intervened, the language at least which first obtained dominance seems to have been sure of ultimate triumph.

That such artificial barriers have not arisen is largely the result of general principles which have consciously been applied. First has been the equality of all before the law. America has not always welcomed all races to its shores, but, with one exception, it has given them equal treatment once they were admitted. Since the civil war that exception has been done away with, and the same courts administer the same law for all. It is true that some courts do not administer it in the same way for all, nor is there any country where the law serves all with absolute equality. It has been, however, an American characteristic to demand that the law be sound, that the law represent an ideal, even if human nature fall below that ideal. Hardly anything in American political conceptions is more fundamental than this. It is not a concession to the weak; infinitely easier would it be for the negro and the newcomer if a separate law adapted to their needs existed. It represents justice, not mercy. Yet it is doubtful if any idea has contributed more to the making of the nation than this holding of all to one standard. No one can complain, and in the case of the oppressed in many other lands it sends a thrill of self-respect down the spine to know that his conduct will be measured by the same rule as that of the established, the rich, and the learned. But this equality has not been a matter of individuals alone; communities also have shared it. The early proprietors of colonial lands, knowing that these would

bring in no return unless peopled, found that to people them they must offer what people wanted; and in those days, when individuals rarely ventured over alone, they found that community independence was the most compelling inducement. Thus were the colonies founded, and to-day hardly a suburban subdivision is opened up which does not offer something in addition to land and physical plan, some basic social idea to make it a utopia, free to control its development, subject only to the common law of all. It is not that the United States has resorted to decentralization, but rather that centralization has evolved only when the situation has absolutely demanded it.

Equality has meant not only subjection to the same law, but equality in making the law. The right to vote was much restricted in the early colonies, but it steadily expanded and it did not, except in the case of the negro, depend upon race. In fact, in colonial times black blood did not generally exclude from the vote, though it did later. Undoubtedly, also, the sense of equality has ever been stronger in America than elsewhere and remains so, though the franchise has ceased to be distinctive, because economic and social opportunity has given substance to the equality of the vote. It is true that all persons in America are not economically equal nor have they been, but the opportunity of all has been, relatively to people of other nations, more nearly equal. Equality of treatment, democracy of the people, equality of privilege, democracy by the people, equality of opportunity, democracy for the people, have been the governing principles in the handling of the race problem in America. In other words, the problem has been ignored, natural forces have been allowed to work, the law has merely prevented the forcible clash of nationalities. No language has been prosecuted, no animosities have been excited, and consequently the attractions of a dominant language have won. Religion has ceased to be a bar to advancement. Where difference is not condemned, it excites self-examination rather than hostility. Where no race has an advantage, individuals may drop some distinguishing characteristics of their own race and adopt those of others, may marry with representatives of other races, without the fear that they will bequeath a social stigma to their descendants.

The constructive embodiment of this equality has been in edu-

cation. Of the importance of education in America and of the importance that Americans attach to education, it will be unnecessary to speak, but of one particular feature of American education. In America education is the open door; now that the occupation of the continent has become complete, and with it natural advantages have become less open, it is the school that preserves and intensifies the equality of opportunity between rich and poor. Like the law it refuses to recognize racial differences, it attempts to make minds keep pace as the army does bodies, and it obliterates differences of origin in civil life as completely. It is not calculated to develop each according to his inherited characteristics, but treats all as equal individuals on the same path to individual self-fulfillment. It is a door which public opinion never allows to close; never can the educator, intent upon results, say "pass here," or "pass there and your future is determined;" always the advancing student must find the door still open before him leading to any portion of the republic to which his brain and his character can carry him. Children in school cry "Sheeny," and "Yapp," and "Dago," and "Dutchy," but all are equally American in that all have the same opportunity; the future of all depends on doing business with each other, which must be conducted in the dominant language under the same law, and they all are given, as far as school can give it, the same content of mind. They fall in love across the line of race, and by some device of nature not as yet understood, even if they do not intermarry, their skulls and bony structures, as has been found by the study of tens of thousands of cases, tend to grow alike. In the first generation immigrants cling together and partly forget their own language without really learning a new one. In the second generation of a family one of the children has the physique and the manner of the surrounding Americans, all speak English, probably not one at thirty could converse in the ancestral language, one or two marry outside the race, and probably not more than one clings to the racial quarter. In the next generation the time has come, if the germ is there, for the great man whom all observers will mark as a characteristic embodiment of the American spirit. In this third generation, also, there will be among his cousins some one who will revive sentimental memories of the old coun-

try, whatever it may be; for there is often a sort of wistfulness among Americans, and the sensitive feel the lack of old roots and memories. But many men and women of action who would have died futile in the old homes their grandparents left, achieve that self-realization and some few that amelioration of society for the benefit of others, the desire for which was the impelling force of the first migration, and which, instinctive in so many of those who migrated to America, has made the Americans a nation of dreamers, a fair percentage of whose dreams come true; has made them a new nationality, representing a combination of many conflicting utopias, smoothed into harmony by the wholesome energy of hard and common labor in the fresh air of equality — political, economic, constructive.

The pilgrim may seem as much overwhelmed in this discussion as he is overshadowed by the numbers of succeeding immigrants, but the central theme is that the count is not by numbers when influence is to be considered. The pilgrims constituted one of the most complete and closely bound communities that ever came to America, and they came among the first. They contributed church organization to Massachusetts and political principle and framework that still endure throughout America; for new sap has flowed through the pattern traced by the first shoots. Had these principles been repugnant and their framework irksome to the more numerous later comers, they would have been early snapped; but the pilgrims' influence has remained potent, because in certain respects their successors resembled them in point of view and in experience. Where the type remains the same, the power of the model remains the more persistent. But the influence of the pilgrims is continued not only because of the valient productivity of the pilgrim stock, nor because, coming early, they set the runways for the future stream, but still more because of the purely spiritual fact that opportunity placed them upon an eminence where their deserts steadily maintain them. Like a beacon set on a hill, their story has focussed the attention of succeeding generations, who have found their simplicity and their courage, their self-reliance and their neighborly kindness, qualities which they have been proud to consider American, and which consciously and unconsciously they have continued to make American. Told with the engaging

charm of William Bradford, and retold in every textbook, the story of the pilgrims will remain a vital spirit sweetening the melting pot as long as America endures.

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